

~~TOP SECRET DINAR~~ VENONA

07985

From: WASHINGTON

To: MOSCOW

No.: 1808, 1809

30 March 1945

[Part I]

To the 8th Department.

Materials of "G"[i]. I am transmitting a telegram of the "NOOK [ZAKOULOK]"[ii] No.2212 of 8 March to the "POOL [OMUT]"[iii].

"Sent to WASHINGTON under No.2212 of 8 March and repeated to MOSCOW, CASERTA and SAVING in Paris.

Supplementary to my telegram No.1018 to MOSCOW.

1. The rapid deterioration of the situation in ROUMANIA has already led us to support the demands of the U.S. Government concerning the invocation of the Three

[150 groups unrecoverable]

objectives, enumerated in points "a - d" in the fourth paragraph of the Declaration. [2 groups unrecovered] assume that the word "measures" includes the establishment of an appropriate organization along the lines, for example of the Polish Commission.

4. The second and wider interpretation is that the words "Joint responsibilities" in the third from the last paragraph of the Declaration, should be taken to mean that no signatory government is permitted to take unilateral action as regards matters mentioned in the Declaration, in any liberated European State or in any former Axis Satellite in Europe.

[Part II]

This interpretation is supported by reference to "joint action" in the Preamble to

[57 groups unrecoverable]

require," which presumably presuppose general agreement before joint assistance.

5. The first interpretation, set forth above, would naturally mean that any one government, according to the Declaration, could veto any action if it so desired. This interpretation of the Declaration would greatly impair the possibility of its use in situations such as that in ROUMANIA.

6. The second alternative interpretation is the only one, which gives us the chance to use the Declaration to prevent arbitrary imposition of minority rule under Soviet encouragement in countries occupied by Russian troops.

~~TOP SECRET DINAR~~ VENONA

~~TOP SECRET DINAR~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7. Any-[1 group unrecovered] arising from this interpretation can arouse serious objection. Insisting on such an interpretation we run the risk of a head-on collision with the Russians who certainly will refuse to accept any such restriction of their freedom of action.

8. Since the U.S. Government is the author of the Declaration about liberated Europe, I [1 group unrecovered], without preliminary consultation and agreement with them, [4 groups unrecovered] any definite view about the proper interpretation

[117 groups unrecoverable]

No.430

VADIM[iv]

---

Comments:

- [i] G: i.e. HOMER [GOMER], Donald MacLean
- [ii] NOOK: The British Foreign Office.
- [iii] POOL: British Embassy in Washington.
- [iv] VADIM: Anatolij Borisovich GROMOV.

20 July 1965

~~TOP SECRET DINAR~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~